

POLITICAL ARITHMETIC

OF THE

Population, Commerce, and Manufactures

OF

I R E L A N D,

WITH

OBSERVATIONS ON THE RELATIVE SITUATION
OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

By JAMES LAFFAN,

OF THE MIDDLE TEMPLE, ESQ.

— SI QUID NOVISTI RECTIUS ISTIS,
CANDIDUS IMPERTI; SI NON, HIS UTERE MECUM.





THE following Calculations were not originally intended for the Press, but designed for the Author's private Information. He is now induced to offer them to the Public as there is every Probability that the Commercial Regulations will be pressed forward in the next Sessions of Parliament *, and he thinks it criminal to with-hold any Information on a Subject so interesting. The Necessity of a speedy Publication prevents him from arranging more methodically the Deductions from his Calculations, and from paying a proper Attention to Correctness of Stile.—*Unconnected with Party, and uninfluenced by factious Views*, his only Motive in this Publication is to promote the Prosperity of Ireland. He is of opinion that Commercial Regulations with

* What inducement can a minister, in either kingdom, have to *press forward* a measure, which, by the arts of faction, has been rendered unpopular in both? A minister may say: "I risked my credit in *pressing forward* an arrangement, which I thought, and still think, was for the essential advantage of both: but, if the sister kingdom think differently, it is my duty and my interest to submit; since, to do otherwise would create me enemies, without gaining a friend."

Great Britain on fair Terms of Reciprocity of Benefits are *expedient*.—These Terms can only be procured by a close Investigation of the relative Situation of both Kingdoms, which he has attempted in a Manner heretofore unattended to. He would not subscribe his Name, but that he thinks it is unfair to attack some Arguments and Deductions of a noble Writer from a masked Battery.

KILKENNY,
18 November, 1785.

POLITICAL

POLITICAL ARITHMETIC

O F

I R E L A N D.

IRELAND contains 17.927.864 statute acres.

I shall, by allowing 927.864 acres for lakes, rivers and roads, suppose it to contain 17.000.000 acres of useful land.

By the last general return of the hearth money collectors, in 1777, the number of houses was - 448.426

I shall suppose the number of houses to be 450.000

Mr. King, in his *Natural and Political Observations on the State of England*, calculates $4\frac{1}{3}$ persons to each house; Dr. Davenant and Dr. Price allow 5; and Mr. Howlet $5\frac{1}{3}$, to each house.

By allowing eleven persons to two houses, the number of inhabitants in Ireland is - - - - 2.475.000 which I suppose is the most exact calculation that can be made, except by enumeration.

Sir William Petty, in his *Political Anatomy of Ireland*,
com-

computes the number of inhabitants, in the year 1672, to			
amount to *	-	-	2.200.000
viz. English	-	-	200.000
Papists descended from English			800.000
Non-papists descended from English			300.000
Scotch	-	-	100.000
Native Irish	-	-	800.000
			—————2.200.000

It is unaccountable how so very able a writer as Sir William Petty, after this particular statement of the number of inhabitants, should make his deductions on a principle of the enumeration of the people being but 1.100.000, unless I am to suppose that he computes 1.100.000 as the number of males in the kingdom †.

That the number of inhabitants in Ireland in 1672, was 2.200.000, may be evinced in the following manner :

* Mr. Laffan has misapprehended Sir W. Petty's account of the number of people in Ireland. In Tate's edit. 1691; and in pag. 7—11—17—and in 115, Sir William Petty again and again deliberately states the number of people as about 1,100,000. Two hundred families, which he gives in p. 7, could never have amounted to 2,200,000, allowing 6 persons to each.

† The above detail from p. 8 of the Political Anatomy, is the mere blunder of Nahun Tate, the editor. He ought to have placed the statements thus :

Of the people	- - - - -	1,100,000
There are English	- - -	200,000
Scots	- - -	100,000
Irish	- - -	800,000
		————— 1,100,000
Of the people,		
There are Papists	- - -	800,000
Non-papists	- - -	300,000
		————— 1,100,000

It is therefore unaccountable how Mr. Laffan could suppose so able a writer as Sir W. Petty to write so contradictorily. The blunder was Tate's : and Mr. Laffan was led out of the highway by his prepossessions.

According

According to proofs made of the progressive augmentation of mankind from observations on the bills of mortality in England, it appears, that notwithstanding the common checks given to population by war, famine and pestilence, the number of the people is doubled in about 400 years.

Now according to Sir William Petty the number of inhabitants in 1672 was - - 2.200.000

By the computation from the bills of mortality the increase in about 100 years is one fourth 550.000

The number at present should be about 2.750.000

But if we consider the great number of persons killed in Ireland in the civil war of 1688, the great emigration at that time, and the numbers that emigrated afterwards in consequence of the severity of the penal laws and restrictions of trade, we may conclude that the present number of inhabitants is about - - 2.475.000

From which deduct the number above labour, viz. peers, gentry, clergy, &c. suppose - 200.000

Remain - - 2.275.000

From which deduct children under seven years of age, one fourth - - 568.750

Remains for agriculture, manufactures and commerce - - 1.706.250

Of which one-third are men - 568.750

one-third women - 568.750

one-third aged, and from 7 years to the age of puberty - 568.750

1.706.250

Mr. Arthur Young, in his *Tour through England*, computes, that about one-third of the people is employed in agriculture; therefore deduct one-third for agriculture - - 568.750

Remains for commerce and manufacture - 1.137.500
England

England and Wales contain about 30.000.000 of acres,
And by Mr. Chalmers *Estimate*, page 176, which seems to
be extremely accurate, the number of inhabitants is 8.023.729:

If the population of Ireland was equal to the population
of England and Wales, in proportion to the extent of the
respective countries, the number of inhabitants in Ireland
ought to be - - - - - 4.546.779

The present number of inhabitants is - - - 2.475.000

Ireland is deficient * - - - 2.071.779

The population of England is one person to $3\frac{1}{4}$ acres
nearly.

The population of Ireland is about one person to $6\frac{1}{4}$ acres.

It has been confidently asserted, and universally admitted,
that the wool of Ireland is not sufficient to clothe its
inhabitants.

This is a mistake; the wool of Ireland is amply sufficient
for the internal consumption of the kingdom.

Strange as it may appear at first view, still there are not
100.000 clothed yearly in Ireland with British woollen drapery.

The quantity of old drapery imported in the year 1783
was 371,871 yards, which is not 3 yards each for 100.000
men; and as there is no doubt but those that wear English
cloths make upon an average two coats a year, this quantity
of old drapery is not sufficient for 100.000 persons.

The importation of new drapery the same year was 420.415
yards, which is barely sufficient for one waistcoat and a

* Admitting what is certainly true, that there are now in Ireland,	
of souls - - - - -	2,475,000
and in 1672, - - - - -	1,100,000

1,375,000

what a marvellous increase would this demonstrate, during a century!

pair

pair of breeches for 100 000 persons.——In what manner are the remaining 2.375.000 inhabitants clothed? Certainly with Irish wool manufactured in Ireland.

In the year 1783 Ireland exported

Of wool,	-	-	2063 stones.
Woollen and bay yarn,	-	-	67117 ditto.
Flannel,	-	-	11416 yards.
Frize,	-	-	784 ditto.
Old drapery,	-	-	40589 ditto.

The latter chiefly, if not entirely, made of Irish wool.

This exportation, together with the Spanish wool necessary for superfine cloths, will amply supply the 100.000 persons dressed with English old drapery, and leave a redundancy.

			Yards.
Ireland exported the same year new drapery	-	-	538.061
And imported as above	-	-	420.415

She had a redundancy more than necessary for her

consumption of	-	-	117.646
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Therefore those persons who assert that Ireland has not a sufficiency of wool for her own consumption, are deceived, or have an intention to mislead the nation in regard to her internal resources.

It is difficult to form an opinion of the quantity of sheep in the kingdom. In such an enquiry we can proceed only on conjecture from the number of inhabitants and the quantity of wool necessary for the clothing of each person. I shall hazard an estimate from the best authority I can procure, but leave the reader to form his own judgment.

I have been informed by an eminent woollen manufacturer that a stone of wool is necessary to clothe an Irish labourer of the common size with coat, waistcoat, breeches, hat, and two pair of stockings. The same person assures me that the

wool of Ireland averages at 4 lb. a fleece, which is a pound a fleece less than Mr. Young makes it in his *Tour through Ireland*. I shall suppose from the above, that if one person with another consumes 7 lb. of wool in the year, the number of sheep in the kingdom at 4 lb. a fleece will amount to 4.331.250.

In the information I applied for, I forgot to include the great coat generally worn by the common people, and if we add this to the compliment of wool consumed, we may conclude that the quantity necessary for each person is 8 lb. of wool, which I believe is nearer to truth; then the number of sheep in the kingdom will amount to 4.950.000, or about 5.000.000.

In stating the relative situation of Great Britain and Ireland, the first consideration to be made is the interest of money in the respective kingdoms, and the effects which the difference of their rates of interest have on commerce, shipping, and manufactures.

The legal rate of interest in Great Britain is 5 per cent. but any sum of money can be produced at 4 per cent.

The legal rate of interest in Ireland is 6 per cent. and money is difficult to be procured at that rate.

A merchant who ships off an adventure for a foreign market expects the interest of his money, and at least ten shillings profit for every twenty shillings interest he pays on account of the hazard he runs. A British merchant who rates the interest of his stock at 4 per cent. must make 6 per cent. profit, that is 4 per cent. for the interest of his stock, and 2 per cent. for his hazard. An Irish merchant, not to be a loser, must sell at the rate of 9 per cent. that is, 6 per cent. for the interest of his stock, and 3 per cent. for his hazard. Now it necessarily follows, that a British ship and an Irish ship going to the same port with the same commodities, bought at the same price, the British merchant undersells
the

the Irish 3 per cent. and of course, as the Irish merchant will have no sale for his goods until the British cargo is disposed of, the British merchant has the greater profit, although the Irishman sells for 3 per cent. more, as he is a longer time paying his high rate of interest before he has a return for his adventure.

This is the true reason why Irish merchants have been but factors for Irish commodities by dealing so much on commission, and so little at their own risk.

Sir Joshua Child, a writer equally eminent for his practical and theoretic knowledge of trade, in his *Discourse on Money and Trade*, asserts that 1 per cent. in interest is equal to 2 per cent. in duties paid inwards and outwards, for this reason:—Interest of money runs through the price of the commodity from the time the money is taken up until the return of the adventure of the money is repaid; it runs through the price of the ship, her wear and tear, seamens wages and provisions; it runs through all cross accidents of contrary winds and stoppage in ports. Duties and customs are only paid at importation and exportation, and merchants can defend themselves in an easy manner against the rigour of duties, but there is no fence against the interest of money. Hence it may be concluded that the Dutch who pay but 3 per cent. interest of money, have an advantage of 2 per cent. over the British merchant who pays 4 per cent. interest, and the British merchant who pays 4 per cent. has an advantage of 4 per cent. over the Irish merchant who pays 6 per cent. interest.

Whilst the interest of money continues higher in Ireland than in Great Britain, it will be impossible that stores and magazines of colonial or other foreign produce can be established in Ireland to supply the wants of Great Britain. To be great and general traders there must be great stock and low interest. Greatness of stock is a consequence of low interest
and

and proper commercial regulations. What makes Holland the general depot of trade, and (except what part of the carrying trade is confined to particular countries by particular laws) the carriers of Europe? The low rate of interest.

Yet with all the disadvantages Ireland labours under in respect to the high rate of interest of money, it would be a dangerous experiment to attempt to lower it in the present distressed circumstances of the country. It is proper that the legislature should set bounds to extortion and usury, by telling them, "Thus far shalt thou go, but no farther." But these bounds should be set rather above than on that level which the value of money will make for itself. The extraordinary necessities of a precarious security will naturally require a greater premium for the risk than a substantial mortgage, and it is impolitic as well as inhuman to deny temporary aids to such necessities.

Money may be considered not only as the measure of every other commodity, but likewise as a commodity in itself. Interest is the price of that commodity: it necessarily follows that when there is a plenty of the commodity at market, the price will fall, but to affize the price where the value ought to bear a proportion to the plenty of the commodity at market, has been a principle long exploded from the system of commercial regulations.

In every country a judgment may be formed of the plenty and scarcity of money by the price, that is, the interest it bears. The penalty of a law may reduce the price or interest of money a little below that value, but not much, because no law can compel me to part with a commodity below its value, for if a law should attempt this, I would keep up my money, and no money hoarded up can add to the wealth or commerce of a state. The penalty of such a law is a clog upon commerce, as it prevents the circulation of money.

That the interest of money rises and falls according to the

the quantity of money in circulation may be evinced from the present state of that circulation in Great Britain, where the legislature set the price at 5 per cent. which I may call their price of money at par. The great influx of money, from her extended commerce, has reduced interest to 4 per cent. and I have heard in London that it is procured at times at $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Thus the plenty of money in circulation in Great Britain has reduced the price 1 to $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. below par.

I have digressed thus far to point out the delicacy that should be observed, and the ill consequences that may ensue from any attempt to reduce the interest of money in the present distressed circumstances of Ireland, as it may be asserted that it would be easy to obviate the disadvantages we labour under in respect to the high rate of interest by reducing it to the same level with Great Britain.

After having thus pointed out the relative situation of Great Britain and Ireland in respect to commerce in general, I shall next examine their relative situation as to shipping.

I shall suppose that a British merchant and an Irish merchant build a ship each that costs 1000*l*. I shall state the seamens wages, provisions and repairs, at 300*l*. a year. Now let us examine what effect interest of money will have on each of these ships according to the rates they respectively pay.

The British merchant considers the value of his 1000*l.* at 4
per cent. - - - £. 40 0 0

300l. seamen's wages, provisions, &c.	-	12	0	0
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Which amount to per annum, - £. 52 0 0

The Irish merchant considers the value of his

1000l. at 6 per cent. - - - £. 60 0 0

300l. seamen's wages, provisions, &c.	18	0	0
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Per annum, - £. 78 0 0

As the ships will wear out in a few years, each merchant must propose to gain the price of his ship in (suppose) twelve years, with compound interest, according to the rates they respectively pay.

The British merchant must make every year to

repay the price of his ship in twelve years, £.106 11 1½

The Irish merchant must make every year to

repay the price of his ship in twelve years, £.119 5 6½

The British ship, wages, provisions, &c. stand

each year in - - - - - £. 52 0 0

To repay the price of the ship in twelve years,

at compound interest - - - - - 106 5 1½

£.158 5 1½

The Irish ship, wages, provisions, &c. stand

each year in - - - - - £. 78 0 0

To repay the price of the ship, ut supra, -

119 5 6½

£.197 5 6½

Thus the British merchant can freight his ship at an annual expence of 158l. 5s. 1½d. when the annual cost to the Irish merchant is 197l. 5s. 6½d.

Take it in another light. If the two ships were constantly freighted at the same price, so as to enable the Irish merchant to clear his ship in twelve years, the British ship would clear itself in eight years.

Or suppose the British and Irish merchant paid the same sum of money yearly interest, the British merchant would be enabled to build a ship of 300 tons, and the Irish merchant but a ship of 200 tons.

The advantages which Great Britain enjoys in this respect are so obvious from the above calculation, that there is no doubt but the trade of Ireland must be chiefly carried on by
British

British shipping. Left any doubt should remain, I shall prove from facts the justness of these calculations, by stating the tonnage of British, Irish and foreign shipping employed in the Irish carrying trade in the years 1723 and 1772. If I had recourse to the proper offices, I would state the tonnage of the year 1784. I have taken these returns from *Lex Mercatoria, Irish Edit.* 1773, page 575. I cite my authority to prove I proceed upon the best information in my power to procure.

STATE of the TONNAGE of British, Irish and Foreign Shipping employed in the Irish Carrying Trade in 1723.

	Tons.
British, - - - -	115.687
Irish, - - - -	42.136
Foreign, - - - -	16.163
	<hr/>
	173.986

STATE of the TONNAGE of British, Irish and Foreign Shipping, employed in the Irish Carrying Trade in 1772.

	Tons.
British, - - - -	236.654
Irish, - - - -	33.312
Foreign, - - - -	16.628
	<hr/>
	286.594

Mr. Gregory King * estimated the tonnage of England, in the year 1688, as a profit to the kingdom of about 4l. 5s. a ton. I shall calculate the tonnage of the shipping employed in the Irish carrying trade at 3l. a ton, which is 1l. 5s. a ton less than Mr. King's calculation.

* Chalmer's Estimate, p. 40.—Mr. Laffan might have here remarked the great increase of the *Irish carrying trade* in fifty years, notwithstanding constant complaints of the contrary.

The freight of the Irish trade in the year 1772, for 286,594 tons, at 3l. per ton, amounted to - - - £. 859.782

Of which Great Britain received £. 709.962

—————Ireland - - - 99.936

—————Foreigners - - - 49.884

£. 859.782

But my chief reason for introducing this statement of the tonnage of ships employed in the Irish carrying trade, is to point out that the tonnage of British ships employed in this trade was more than doubled in less than fifty years; and though the Irish trade required above 110,000 tons more in 1772 than in 1723, yet in that period of time Irish tonnage decreased nearly one-fourth; and it appears that in 1723 about two-thirds of the Irish carrying trade was enjoyed by Great Britain, which increased to about seven-eighths in 1772.

From the above state of the Irish carrying trade will it bear a question, whether it would be more beneficial to Ireland to be included in the British act of navigation, or by pursuing the policy of Great Britain confine her carrying trade to her own shipping*?

We may now judge with what propriety a noble writer (when pointing out the danger that may ensue to Great Britain from including Ireland in the navigation act) adopts for a motto,

* How a commerce requiring 286,594 tons of shipping, can be carried on by 33, or even 40,000 tons, Mr. Laffan ought to have shewn; and where the number of ships necessary to fill the void could be readily had, if there were capital to buy or build them. Whether *the people* of Britain would submit to the exclusion suggested by Mr. Laffan:—Whether they would not insist, in just return, to exclude the Irish shipping from the banks of Newfoundland—from the colony trade, and from *the protection* of the British flag every where, are weighty considerations.

—————*Non Hostem inimicaque Castra
Arguam, vestras spes uritis.*

The 12 C. II. c. 18. is the original act of navigation and included Irish shipping. It was confirmed by the Irish statute of 14 & 15 C. II. c. 9. Subsequent English statutes struck out Ireland. The British navigation act is too strait laced †. It is unfavourable to foreign commerce. The 13th regulation annexed to the Irish statute of 14 & 15 C. II. c. 9. shews, that the Irish legislature had some idea of making Ireland a depot of foreign produce ‡. It says, “ Inasmuch
“ as the natural situation of this realm renders it sufficiently
“ convenient for the storing and laying up of commodities
“ and merchandize brought in with intent to be afterwards
“ carried out again for supply of foreign markets, by which
“ much benefit and advantage may arise to his Majesty and
“ people; the lord deputy, therefore, or other chief gover-
“ nor or governors and privy council of this realm for the
“ time being, shall and may (as they in their judgment shall
“ see meet and find most advantageous and beneficial to his
“ Majesty and this kingdom) appoint one certain port in
“ each province of this realm to which all merchants, stran-
“ gers and their factors, sending his or their goods with in-
“ tent and to the end and purpose aforesaid, may, upon a
“ reasonable composition or agreement to be agreed on by
“ direction of the said lord deputy, or other chief governor
“ or governors and privy council as aforesaid, and payment
“ thereof made unto the collector or collectors of those
“ ports, in lieu of all customs and subsidies due and payable
“ by this present act, there land and lay up the same in his

† *The people of Britain will not part with the act of navigation, but with their existence; because their existence depends on the strictest execution of it.*

‡ Nothing but the vast capitals of Holland and Britain can make a depot of foreign commerce.

“ Majesty’s warehouses, at the custom-house, or such other
 “ warehouses and places, and no other, as shall be provided
 “ for that end and purpose by the collector, customer and
 “ searcher of those ports, under whose joint custody the same
 “ are to remain until they be shipped out again, which shall
 “ be done again without payment of any duties outwards,
 “ or any thing more than a reasonable rate for warehouse
 “ room ; but if any merchant, factor or other, bringing in
 “ or laying up his or their goods by way of composition,
 “ shall not export, but otherwise dispose of the same, every
 “ such merchant, factor or other shall, before he or they
 “ receive his or their goods from the warehouse or place
 “ where they are laid up, pay unto the collector not only
 “ as much as with his or their composition monies shall
 “ compleat the whole customs and subsidies of such goods,
 “ but likewise interest at the rate of 10l. per cent. for so long
 “ a time as the payment of the full duties of those goods had
 “ been forborne.”

The 53d regulation, annexed to the same act, compelling
 aliens to pay double custom, is impolitic. It certainly ought
 to be enforced to prohibit a cross carrying trade, but our ports
 should be open to all foreigners, not only to import the
 produce of their own country, but likewise to take our pro-
 duce in return.

I shall now examine the relative situation of Great Britain
 and Ireland as to manufactures, and see what effect the dif-
 ferent rates of interest have on British and Irish manufactures
 when taken from the loom and ready for sale.

I will suppose that 50l. a year will keep a loom well em-
 ployed. It is of no consequence whether this sum is too
 much or too little, as the proportion will be the same, let
 the sum be what it will. To employ twenty looms in Ire-
 land, at 50l. a loom, will require 1000l. the interest of
 which

which is 60*l.* per annum. A British manufacturer, who pays 60*l.* yearly interest of money, at 4 per cent. procures for that interest 1500*l.* and can employ thirty looms; and as he at the same expence employs one-third more looms than an Irish manufacturer, of course he has one-third more profit on his manufacture, or can undersell the Irish manufacturer in the same proportion in his own or any foreign market, and engross the trade to himself.

If a manufacturer did not imagine that he could pay off the principal debt in ten years by the profits of his industry, and at the same time support his family, he would not take up money at interest. If then the Irish manufacturer shall be enabled to support his family, and pay off the principal in ten years, a British manufacturer shall maintain his family and pay off the same principal in about seven years.

It has been objected on the part of Great Britain that the low rents, light taxes and cheapness of labour in Ireland, must give advantages to the Irish manufacturer, and enable him to undersell at foreign markets British manufactures, which are subject to high rents, heavy taxes, and dear labour.

If these objections are not sufficiently confuted by the foregoing remarks on the different rates of interest, I shall answer, trade and manufactures thrive in proportion to the population of a country. Holland is the most populous country in Europe. Land there pays an excessive rent, and the annual taxes on land are nearly equal to the annual rent. Every article of food and raiment pay an excessive high excise, yet notwithstanding the dearness of land and the heavy excise laid on every thing they consume, manufactures flourish, and there is to be found in Holland every sort of manufacture. England and France are the next most populous countries, and it is unnecessary to mention how much manufactures thrive amongst them. Spain, Portugal, Sweden, Denmark and Russia are the least populous countries of Europe. Land and labour is cheap in these countries, yet they
are

are supplied with manufactures by those populous countries where rent is heavy, labour dear, and taxes high. The *Dean of Gloucester*, in his *Political and Commercial Tracts*, has proved that a poor country cannot stand a competition with a rich country in cheapness of manufactures, although possessed of equal advantages; therefore to burden the infant manufactures of a poor country with the same excise which is laid on a wealthy, well-established manufacture, would be attended with the same consequence as to the frog in the fable, which, aspiring to swell itself to the size of the ox, burst in the attempt, or if I may be allowed to borrow a Scotch expression from that great luminary of the law, Lord Mansfield, it would be *feeding the kid in the milk which Providence supplied for its nourishment*.

A noble writer *, in his *Observations on the present State of Ireland*, recommends to Great Britain to “fear the effect of concessions difficult to foresee.” *Fas est ab Hoste doceri*. It is incumbent therefore on Ireland to guard against the effects of concessions that are obvious. Great Britain, long enured to habits of prosperous industry, will ever retain that superiority in trade which she enjoys at present, even supposing that Ireland was equally industrious, and there is every reason to think that she will shortly outstrip Ireland in the linen manufacture.

From the printed report of the committee of the Irish House of Commons on the State of Irish manufactures, it appears that Great Britain's yearly consumption of linen is 63,000,000 yards :

	Yards.
Of which her own manufacture supplies -	28.000.000
————German linen - -	20.000.000
And of Irish linen but - - -	15.000.000
	<hr/>
	63.000.000

* Lord Sheffield.

England,

England, I may say, compelled Ireland to enter into a compact in 1699, by which the linen trade was to be preserved to Ireland*. Great Britain broke this compact. In 1743 she included low-priced Irish linen in the bounties designed to promote her own manufacture. This was a specious benefit to Ireland, but delusive. Mr. Hamill's estimate of the charges on a pack of Irish linen imported into London, which he laid before the Irish committee, amount to 14l. 8s. 3d. per cent. therefore British linens have an advantage of 14l. 8s. 3d. per cent. over Irish linens shipped from a British port.

The rapid encrease of the British linen manufacture will appear from a comparative view of British and Irish linen exported on bounty in the years 1743 and 1773 from British ports.

In the year 1743.

		Yards.
British linen exported on bounty	- -	52.779
Irish linen exported on bounty	- -	40.907

In the year 1773.

British linen exported on bounty	- -	5.235.266
Irish linen exported on bounty	- -	2.832.246

Thus may be seen the progressive improvement of the British linen manufacture from the year 1743 to 1773, and that the charges incident to an Irish pack of linen exported from

* This compact (as the absurd measures of 1699 are called) did not stipulate that the people of Britain would suppress their own *linen* manufacture, much less that they would give a bounty on the export of *Irish* linen from Britain. To admit 15,000,000 of yards of Irish linen into Britain, without paying a tax, which would operate, were a tax imposed, as a bounty to British linen, is a favour from a zealous people of no small importance, which ought not to be lightly brought into discussion.

a British port operate as a protecting duty for British linen; exclusive of the advantage of the British manufacturer in the different rates of interest of money.

The value of linen yarn exported to Great Britain in 1782 was 169.126l.; and as, from the report of the Irish committee, labour and linen yarn are nearly of equal value in this manufacture, the Irish manufacturers have lost by this exportation

	£. 169.126
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In the year 1698, being the year before the exportation of Irish woollen drapery was prohibited, the value of English old drapery imported was

	£. 8838 3 9
--	-------------

And of new drapery,

	1774 10 10
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In the year 1783, being a few years after the prohibition was withdrawn, the value of British old drapery imported was

	£. 260.310 1 0
--	----------------

And of new drapery

	52.551 17 6
--	-------------

In 1782 the value of wool, worsted and bay yarn exported amounted to

	£. 127.214
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Of which, Wool,

	£. 1482
--	---------

———— Woollen yarn,

	805
--	-----

———— Worsted yarn,

	124.927
--	---------

£. 127.214

The Norwich manufacturers asserted, before the committee of the British privy council, that labour is about 85 per cent. in the manufacture of worsted stuffs. The Yorkshire manufacturers said, that in the short wool manufactures the proportion was as 2 labour to 1 material, and in the long wool manufactures as 5 labour to 1 material. The quantity of worsted yarn exported in 1782 being so large a proportion of the export of the whole, I am within bounds by averaging the wool, worsted and bay yarn imported that year at 4 labour

bour to 1 material ; therefore the profit to the British manu-
 facturer on the value exported - - £. 127.214
 multiplied by - - 4
 is - £. 508.856

Which with profit on linen yarn before men-
 tioned - - - - 169.126
 And of course a loss to Irish manufacturers -
 of * - - - - £. 677.982

Sic Vos non Vobis Vellera fertis Oves.

Ireland, by confining her consumption of West India pro-
 duce to the British Islands, has been a loser in the year end-
 ing the 25th March, 1783, in the article of sugar
 alone, - - - - £. 92.940 18 0

The quantity of candy, loaf and raw sugars that year im-
 ported was 142.986 cwt. and the *Dean of Gloucester*, in his
Reflections, says, that we could procure sugar thirteen shil-
 lings per cwt. cheaper from Portugal than from the British
 colonies.—Portugal would take manufactures in return.

Although the West India trade is open, and we can im-
 port sugars directly from the islands, yet it appears that
 142.986 cwt. was that year imported, of which 109.116 cwt.
 came to us circuitously through Great Britain. There was
 of rum imported the same year from the West Indies 297.038
 gallons, and 129.950 gallons from Great Britain. Of cot-
 ton wool 1092 cwt. from the West Indies, and 2705 cwt. from
 Great Britain. A convincing proof of the justness of the
 foregoing calculations, and that the great capital and low
 rate of interest will secure to Great Britain the carrying
 trade, and make her the depot of colonial produce.

* Mr. Laffan does not consider that manufactures can only be carried,
 in whatever country, to the extent of its capital; and that Britain
 can procure materials of manufacture from every quarter of the globe.

Mr. Chalmers, in his *Estimate*, makes the medium balance of trade for three years, ending 1772, £. 745.210 a year in favour of Great Britain against Ireland*. The noble writer heretofore alluded to, in his *Observations on the American States*, makes the medium balance of trade, from the year 1770 to the year 1780, £. 484.871. 6s. 6½d. a year in favour of Great Britain against Ireland; but in his *Observations on the present State of Ireland*, he finds out that the British custom-house returns of the valuation of Irish imports are extremely defective, and that the Irish custom-house returns are more regular and just. It is to be hoped that if the party to which he is attached resume their employments, he will be appointed inspector-general of the imports and exports (an office for which, from his laborious compilations, he seems well qualified). From the great difference between the returns of the British and Irish custom-houses, it is manifest that there is a leading principle in each kingdom to make the balance of trade appear in its own favour. The vanity of merchants in puffing their consequence by large entries where no duty is paid, is well known, and points out the necessity of some regulation to enforce just entries by forfeitures, and prevent thereby false notions of the balance of trade: The imports of British manufactures may be depended upon, as from the duties paid, it may be safely asserted that the quantity returned is actually imported. It is highly probable that there is more imported than in the custom-house returns, but there cannot be less, because no person will pay duty for more than he imports. The export of Irish manufactures being free from duty, gives room for the indulgence of that vanity which is prejudicial to the state, as it gives false notions of the balance of trade. Irish linen being exempt from duty in British ports gives an opportunity to the British merchant to indulge the same va-

* This balance has been growing daily less, since 1772.

nity; and the custom-house officers in such a case are indifferent about the extent of an entry if their accustomed fees are paid. Hence Ireland may conclude to a certainty the value of her imports, but the value of her exports are very problematical.

Let us take the balance either for or against Ireland from the British or Irish returns, or say the imports and exports are nearly equal. Take it any way, still there are items of great importance which have not been included in either of the returns, and make a large balance against Ireland.

The yearly drains of Ireland for the estates of absentees are moderately estimated at - £. 1.200.000 0 0

In the general state of the national account, ending March, 1784,

£. 16545 5s. 5½d. is entered as

the four shillings in the pound on

employments and pensions of ab-

sentees, they therefore receive

66.181 1 9

The freight of British shipping be-

fore-mentioned - -

709.962 0 0

£. 1.976.143 1 9

To this should be added the yearly remittances for interest of money, mortgages, education of youth, insurance of ships, houses and lives, carriage horses, &c. with the pensions from which there is no deduction of poundage, of all which I can form no estimate for want of proper materials, and then a juster view may be had of the balance of trade between the two kingdoms*.

Mr. Hume, in his *Essay on the Balance of Trade*, asserts, that "the flow of money ought to be kept rather more than

* This vast current of coin runs with rapid flow (if we may use the eloquent language of Alderman Falkener of facetious memory) from the blood and bowels of Irishmen.

full by small but constant augmentations." How then can Ireland support her necessary circulation when subject to such drains*? To what account are the sums of money annually remitted for offices and pensions to be charged, if commercial regulations with Great Britain are adopted? Are they to be charged to Great Britain as part payment of the surplus of the hereditary revenue, or are they still to remain a burden on the shoulders of Ireland? No Irishman wishes to tie up the hands of Majesty from rewarding real or even supposed good services, but let the civil list of Great Britain gratify the wants or deserts of those whose services have been in Great Britain, and Irishmen will not object to extending the royal bounty here to those whose real or supposed good services were exerted for Ireland, and let each supply their own poor and needy.

The marine, the revenue, the wholesale merchant and the retailer reap some profit from the importation of manufactures, but the exportation of money is a total loss to a state. How much Great Britain profits in her revenue and manufactures from these annual remittances of Ireland does not come within the limits I have prescribed for myself in this publication, but will be fully attended to in a history of the trade, finances and resources of Ireland, which I have an intention of publishing, if I can add some necessary materials

* This drain equally existed in Dean Swift's days. The whole cash of Ireland, according to him, was only £.500,000, and yet £.1,000,000 were annually sent to England. This very *logical deduction* did not escape the remark of Mr. Hume. On the other hand, Dr. Adam Smith has justly observed, that the wealth of a country may rapidly increase, though the *apparent* balance of trade be against it. He gives the example of the colonies, which now form the American states. He might have added Ireland. She has more than doubled her people in a century: she has more than quadrupled the quantity of their *labour* and *products*, which form the real wealth of every people. Augment your *inhabitants* and *their industry*, says Mr. Hume, and you need not trouble yourselves about the *nominal balance* of trade.

to those I have collected, and can spare time from studies more personally interesting*.

The provision trade is a great article of commerce, but destructive to Ireland: it must necessarily be pursued until there is an encrease of population. The quantity of black cattle will not decrease until the same ground that feeds them shall be occupied by men. The profits of the provision trade cannot be ascertained by the quantity shipped, but by the price, because the redundancy must be exported, let the price be what it may. The pork trade is indeed beneficial, as it assists the poor cottager at little or no expence to pay the rent of his miserable cabin and acre of land.

Although we can procure bar-iron on the same terms with Great Britain from the East country, yet on an average of three years importation, ending the 25th March, 1783, we imported each year,

	Cwt.
From the East country, - - -	98 488
And from Great Britain, - - -	74 730

notwithstanding the additional expence of a second freight, with other incidental charges, and that the duty on bar-iron from Great Britain is 3s. 6d. a ton more than from the East country.

In the equalization duty on iron and iron wares in 1778, the duty was calculated as if all the iron manufactured in Great Britain was imported. By the evidence given to the

* Mr. Laffan is conjured not to make the documents of his history bend to his hypothesis, but to draw his inferences from his data: let him establish *the fact* first, and then draw a fair conclusion. Mr. Laffan will not surely forget to state in his *proposed history*: That the value of the exports of Ireland was no more in 1685, than £. 550,000. but, in 1785, 3,500,000. And then, he will naturally give vent to his paternal feelings:—What an astonishing increase, and how prodigiously Ireland must have prospered, in the mean time, though her good patriots have been continually complaining of her decline!!

committee of the British House of Lords, there are about 55,000 tons of iron imported, and 30,000 tons annually made in Great Britain; and as a rapid progress is making in her manufacture of bar-iron the importation of course will decrease. Ireland makes no bar-iron. The true mode of equalizing the duty, as the trade stands at present, is to lay an excise on all bar-iron made in Great Britain equal to the duty paid on all iron imported; or if Great Britain wishes to protect her bar-iron manufacture, to rate the duty on iron imported upon all iron consumed. For example, I shall, to avoid fractions, suppose that she imports 60,000 tons, and manufactures 30,000 tons, the gross amount of the duty paid on 60,000 tons imported should be rated as paid on the 90,000 tons consumed, then two-thirds of the duty now actually paid in Great Britain would be the proper equalization duty for bar-iron exported by Ireland to the British colonies.

The present duty on a ton of bar-iron imported in Great Britain is - - - £.2 16 1

To make this Irish money

	0	4	8
	<hr/>		
£	3	0	9

But as one-third of the bar-iron exported from Great Britain is made there subject to no excise, deduct one-third of the above duty,

The true equalization duty for Ireland is 206

And as the duty in 1778 was settled at 2l. 10s. per ton, we pay at present 9s. 6d. per ton more than the true equalization, although there was an additional duty of 7s. 7d. per ton laid on iron imported into Great Britain since this calculation of 2l. 10s. was framed and passed into a law.

Doubts having arisen on what average to estimate the waste of bar-iron when manufactured into iron-wares, it would be presumptuous to form any calculation on the true equalizing duty; when these doubts are removed, and the average

average properly ascertained, the duty on exportation should be settled on the above principle.

But there is a shorter and easier way to make this affair satisfactory to the manufacturers of both kingdoms, which is to grant a drawback of all duties on exportation.

If *Lord Sheffield*, in his *Observations on the American States*, is rightly informed, the quantity of iron made in Great Britain exceeds the quantity imported. His Lordship says, p. 18, that the imports are near 50,000 tons, and that there is from 50 to 60,000 tons of pig, and from 15 to 20,000 tons of bar-iron made in Great Britain; and there is every reason to think the noble writer was well founded in this assertion, for, in his *Observations on the present State of Ireland*, he says, page 212, "The improvements in making good bar-iron with pit-coal, the great aid given to labour, and the expences saved by the improved steam-engines, afford a reasonable hope that in time, if no extraordinary checks should intervene, enough will be made in Britain to supply *these* kingdoms in that necessary article." And as a corroboration of this well-founded hope he remarks, in a note, that 500 tons of coals are daily consumed by one company in Shropshire in this manufacture.

It will not, I presume, be considered an unnecessary digression to mention here, from *Dr. Boate's Natural History of Ireland*, the iron forges at work in Ireland in the reign of Charles I. every one of which is now in ruins, or I should rather say, not a vestige of them remains.

Several iron works in Munster, by the Earl of Cork.

In the counties of Roscommon and Leitrim, and near Mountrath, in the Queen's county, by Sir Charles Coote.

At Ballinakil, in the Queen's county, by the Earl of Londonderry.

At Mountmelick, by Sir Adam Loftus.

In

In Fermanagh, by Sir John Dunbar.

In the same county, by the side of Lough-Earn, by Sir Leonard Blenerhasset.

In Thomond, by some London merchants.

Besides several others on the coasts of Ulster and Munster, in which English ore was used; and likewise several bloomeries, hammer works, and casting works; of the latter, one was working by Sir Christopher Wandsworth, in the barony of Idough, for casting ordnance, pots, small round furnaces, &c.; and in digging out the iron ore, they discovered the vein of coals at present well known by the name of Kilkenny Coal.

I shall give a few more instances of the relative situation of Great Britain and Ireland as to commerce, and leave the reader to judge on what grounds Lord Sheffield asserted, that Ireland will become the depot of colonial and foreign produce*.

In the year, ending 25th March, 1783, Ireland imported 3.459.861 lb. of tobacco, of which 2.415.137 lb. were imported from Great Britain.

In the same year she imported 60.079 lb. of indigo, of which 47.898 lb. came circuitously through Great Britain.

Of raw and thrown silk she imported each year, on an average of three years, ending 25th March, 1783, 114.799 lb. of which 111.944 lb. came circuitously through Great Britain.

There is something very unaccountable in the difficulties thrown in the way of Ireland as to a proper explanation of the Methuen treaty made in the year 1703. It is a nar-

* LORD SHEFFIELD is a well-known party-writer, who borrows what he disseminates from Silas Dean, and others; and who consequently fills his voluminous pamphlets with *mistatements* of facts and with *contradictions* to his own reasonings. The true answer to such a politician is *Sheffield versus Sheffield*, as Mr. Laffan's friends at the Middle Temple would say.

rownness of principle in a British minister not to have this matter properly adjusted. The Irish crown is inseparably annexed to the crown of Great Britain, and of course Ireland is a part of the empire. No foreign power, on forming treaties, is supposed to know what particular disabilities any part of the British empire is subject to, when such treaties are signed. If Bristol, Liverpool, or any other British port, was laid under an interdict of trade by the British parliament before this treaty was made, and that interdict afterwards removed, can it be supposed that Portugal would refuse taking goods from such port on account of the interdict? Ireland lay under such an interdict at the time, and when that interdict was removed, she was intitled to the benefit of the treaty. That she did not enjoy it, was owing to internal regulations of the empire, of which no foreign power can judge. If this treaty, made in the year 1703, was originally designed for England alone, was there any objection made by the court of Lisbon to Scotland's participation of the treaty? Certainly there was not.

It is ridiculous to assert, that at the time this treaty was made, Portugal objected to the admission of Irish woollens. Portugal never made any objection to receiving Irish woollens, whilst the interdict lasted, and that they were a contraband trade from this kingdom; and when the interdict was removed, and the duties on all wines imported were laid on, consonant to the spirit of that treaty, it was declared in the Irish House of Commons to be done in consequence of a declaration of the Portuguese ambassador, that if the duties on all wines of the growth of Portugal were not lower by one-third than the duties on French wines, Ireland could not be permitted to enjoy the benefit of the treaty.

In July, 1729, the English factory at Lisbon published a
c
memorial

* memorial on the balance of trade between Great Britain and Portugal. In the estimate the imports and exports of Ireland to and from Portugal are included as part of the imports and exports of the empire. Ireland will rise or fall with Great Britain. The friends of Great Britain are the friends of Ireland; the enemies of Great Britain, the enemies of Ireland. In the infraction of treaties of the empire Ireland is deeply interested. Her blood and treasure are expended, and her trade equally exposed to the ravages of those wars in which the empire is engaged. She is therefore as well intitled to the common benefits resulting to the empire from treaties, as she is liable to the disadvantages of an unsuccessful war.

It is a fixed and certain *rule* in the *law of nations*, that treaties include ALL the states of the contracting powers as to their subjects and commerce, unless limited by express stipulations to particular places or certain persons, or with exemptions precisely defined.

Are there any express stipulations to particular places or persons, or are there any exemptions in the Methuen treaty? It was made by Queen Anne; her style was not then Queen of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, but Queen of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, and the treaty was made for all her subjects. Internal regulations of the empire prevented some of her subjects from enjoying for a time the benefit of it. Portugal knew nothing of these internal regulations, but as soon as the disabilities caused by these regulations were removed, every subject of the empire was entitled to the benefits of the treaty, because it was signed by the respective powers without any exemption of places or persons.

In these circumstances Ireland has reason to complain

* *Lex Mercatoria*, p. 530.

of the inattention (to call it by no worse a name) of the British minister in the Portugal business *. The proper construction of treaties is so well known that Portugal would raise no difficulty, if she did not perceive it pleasing to the British ministry. Portugal knew or seemed to know nothing of British restrictions on Irish trade, whilst such restrictions were enforced, as she freely admitted our woollen manufacture when smuggled out of Ireland, but the narrow policy of a few British merchants in the Lisbon factory have caused a new construction of treaties, and the construction by the law of nations and general usage must be laid aside for their advantage.

It is not surprising that Ireland should be unacquainted with the construction of treaties, being so long debarred from their common benefits; but it is indeed surprising that she acted with such ill policy as to endanger the little trade that remained with Portugal by laying (I may say) prohibitory duties on Portugal wines. The balance of trade with Portugal was considerably more than 8000*l.* a year in favour of Ireland, and a prospect of an increasing balance; thus circumstanced we should not irritate her. Our interest calls upon us to conciliate by withdrawing these duties. A war of prohibitions with Portugal will certainly hurt, but cannot serve us. Much may be done by negotiation, when the British minister is convinced we know what we are entitled to.

* It is an undoubted fact, that not only the *present* but the *former* ministers did every thing in their power to have this matter properly adjusted. For, it is the interest of every minister to preserve, or procure quiet in his time. But, the British government cannot dictate to any foreign power. And while the Irish do not heartily concur, by imposing proper duties in favour of the Portugal wines, they cannot expect much benefit from the foolish treaty of 1703.

If the Irish find it now so difficult to procure an adjustment of this perplexing business, what embarrassments would they not encounter if they were as independent as the *American States*?

The strange conduct of the British minister in this business will make it necessary for Ireland, in any commercial regulations entered into with Great Britain, to have the spirit of foreign treaties more clearly defined, and such definition should be the basis or fundamental principle of the regulations. I was never more surprized than at an expression of the late Chancellor of the Exchequer in the Irish House of Commons, when the Propositions were agitated. He said, with a degree of exultation, that if the commercial regulations were adopted, Ireland would be enabled to ship off her manufactures to British ports, and from thence she could export them as British manufactures.—What ! must Ireland be under the necessity of making Great Britain the entrepot of her manufactures *. I believe this gentleman's commercial knowledge is great, and his attachment to the interest of Ireland equally great, that he did all the good in his power to his country, though probably not as much as he wished. But that a man of so great knowledge of trade did not perceive that making Great Britain the entrepot of Irish manufactures, would give an advantage to British manufacturers of the second freight and port, and other incidental charges, is astonishing. What the amount of the

* But, for the capital of England the manufacture of Irish linens would never have been carried to its present greatness. At the same time that the British merchant advances money to the Irish manufacturers on the goods consigned, he can give a reasonable profit, and afterwards send the Irish linens and other fabrics to distant countries, where long credits are necessary. Britain is not only the greatest but the best market for the products of Ireland, because it is nearest and its payment is the surest and the readiest. And the trade of both are advantageous to each other. Were the exports from Ireland to Britain shut up only for a month this circumstance alone would stop the whole *circulation* of Ireland. And Mr. Laffan would do well to consider, that the *stoppage of circulation* is the most fatal accident that can happen to a manufacturing country; because it includes every evil of the scarcity of money.

freight

freight and charges is, may be partly judged by the estimate of expences heretofore alluded to on a pack of linen, and so far would operate as a protecting duty in favour of British manufactures.

It is worthy of consideration, whether there should not be some specific protection to the trade of Ireland in time of war, if commercial regulations with Great Britain are adopted. Waterford will not recover in half a century the damage she sustained by privateers last war. I have been informed by a person of credit there, that the merchants offered to man and victual a frigate, at that time captured from the French, if the admiralty would station her on the coast for the protection of their trade; but this reasonable request was denied, and their trade was so harrassed, it became a common saying among the salters, that they were curing provisions for the French.

It is not the interest of Ireland to pursue any direct trade with the East Indies. Individuals have acquired immense wealth there, but the manufacturing kingdom, whose commerce to the East is most extensive, receives the greatest prejudice, the imports from Asia being chiefly manufactures and articles of luxury, the exports three-fourths bullion. Great Britain loses above * £.1,100,000 yearly by her connections with the East, exclusive of the damage her manufacturers sustain by the consumption of chintzes, nankeens, muslins, callicoes, and the other beautiful manufactures of Asia, which, though partly prohibited to be worn in Great

* Chalmer's Estimate, p. 55.—In page 57 of this tract there is the following passage, which Mr. Laffan seems not to have attended to: "But, whether we ought to consider this balance as *absolutely lost* must depend on the essential circumstance, whether we consume at home the merchandizes of the East, or by exporting them for the consumption of strangers, we draw back with interest what we had only advanced." —This reasoning applies to every other country and every other trade.

Britain,

Britain, yet even exported from thence, lessen the consumption of the manufactures of Manchester, Paisley, and Spitalfields. Teas, drugs, spices, china, and raw materials, are all we want; these can be procured in return for our own manufactures, which will flourish in proportion to the extent of a prohibition on the wearing of Asiatic manufactures.

I will not attempt to form any estimate of the capital of Ireland in agriculture, manufactures and the commerce necessary to promote them; but I must suppose, from the concurrent opinion of all persons, that it is sufficient for these purposes. Ireland should first try to enrich herself by her internal trade; therefore to divert any part of her small capital, so usefully employed internally, her manufactures must languish in proportion to the quantity of her stock thus withdrawn. Spain has been depopulated and brought to the verge of ruin, by withdrawing her capital from domestic industry, and making her South-sea trade the principal source of her wealth, which should be but as an accessory to those internal resources she so eminently possessed and so fatally neglected.

The same arguments will answer for those wild notions of a Greenland fishery. Where is the necessity to explore the icy regions of the North, when our own coasts present themselves as inexhaustible sources of wealth?

Administration not having been coerced to reduce the national expences to its income, it was prudent to equalize the revenue to its expenditures. The ill policy of Great Britain in accumulating an enormous debt is a sufficient warning for Ireland to avoid that rock on which her sister may possibly split. Some of the taxes laid on last sessions for this purpose were proper, some imprudent, and others oppressive. The additional stamp on newspapers, and new modelling the tax on advertisements, cannot be productive, were not designed to be productive, but were *stamped* with oppression.

oppression. Some damnable doctrines of assassinations were belched forth from the press, but the laws were sufficient to chastise the offenders. It is tyranny to oppress the innocent on account of the guilt of a few. Institutions of the most beneficial nature are liable to be abused. The circulation of intelligence and advertisements, necessary to promote the sale of infant manufactures is obstructed. They are unproductive taxes on commerce, and ought to be discontinued.

In these enquiries, I have pointed out in a manner heretofore unattended to, the relative situation of Great Britain and Ireland, not with a view to impede a *commercial union*, which I think is *expedient*, but to put matters in such a light that the contracting parties may meet each other on fair terms of reciprocity, which can be the only basis of a lasting treaty. A consolidation of commercial interests between Great Britain and Ireland is a consummation devoutly to be wished. A CONSOLIDATION OF CONSTITUTIONS IRELAND WILL NOT SUFFER. It is to be apprehended that the late commercial propositions will not answer the purpose. I confine myself to the commercial part of the Propositions, as I suppose, from the vigorous defence in the last sessions of parliament, no farther attempts will be made on the legislative rights of Ireland.

If the present minister of Great Britain had experience equal to his patriotism, he would be capable of executing great projects *; but as it is a strong marked trait of his character

* Mr. Laffan does not advert, that a man may be born a minister, as men are born poets and generals; or, that such a man of five and twenty, who exerts great diligence with unwearied attention to affairs, may possess more of the necessary qualities of a minister, than the man of five and thirty with equal genius, who spends his nights at the gaming-table; or more experience than the man of forty-five, who with less genius enjoys *his joke* without caring for *the state*. Mr. Laffan ought to have felt, that a comprehensive mind seldom entertains little jealousies of real

rather that he adopts plans beneficial to the state, and denies the inventors the merit due to them, he holds out too great a discouragement to men of genius to exert their abilities in the service of their country. The plan of such a minister will be but a rough draft, a mere sketch that may present the outlines of a great design. Such was the rough unfinished plan of the late propositions. It will require the united efforts of commissioners appointed by Great Britain and Ireland to lick this cub into form†. Regulations which should be attended to minutely in the respective articles of

real talents. And the recent appointment of Mr. Eden evinces, "that there are not too great discouragements held out to men of genius to exert their abilities in the service of their country."

† Let us suppose Mr. Laffan's commissioners assembled: let us suppose that their commissions appeared, when they were produced, to be derived from two *independent* countries, whose inhabitants were of course *aliens* to each other: and let us suppose that the British commissioners opened the treaty by saying:—The two crowns were once united, and the inhabitants of Great Britain and Ireland were then fellow-subjects to each other:—but though this is no longer so we are still desirous to enter into a commercial treaty, whose fundamental principles shall be liberal equity, mutual advantage, and common protection: as fellow-subjects your constituents once enjoyed the privilege of fishing at Newfoundland, which the French and Americans enjoy from *treaty* but not from the *law of nations*; your various productions we admitted into our ports either without paying duties, or on smaller duties than were paid by aliens; you were permitted too to trade to our colonies in America and settlements in Africa, from which aliens are excluded; your ships enjoyed all the benefits of British ships, and sailed under the same protection: all these peculiar advantages we are still willing to continue, and admit you freely into an equal participation of commercial advantages, with a few exceptions in both countries for the protection of public revenue or individual rights: and having said thus much we should be glad to hear what equivalents you have to offer on behalf of Ireland for these invaluable advantages. As Mr. Laffan would doubtless be one of the Irish commissioners, it may be proper to remind him, not to fall into the common error of claiming *as a right*, like the Americans, the privileges and protections of British subjects, after they had become aliens by their independence: the independent Irish ought only to claim what to aliens belong.

commerce

commerce cannot be arranged by parliaments sitting in different kingdoms. An age would not compleat the work. Commissioners ballotted for by parliament to conduct this treaty would be responsible to the nation for impolitic or imprudent concessions. The responsibility of a British secretary to a lord lieutenant is a mere ignis fatuus. Pursue this Will o' the Wisp, it disappears and is lost for ever in St. George's channel. Appointing commissioners after the regulations are adopted by parliament is flurring over the business in a slovenly manner, and ending where it should begin. In the course of enquiries made by commissioners appointed to conduct this treaty, several matters will present themselves which may throw a new light on the whole system, and they may strike out a proper mode for mutually adopting future regulations without interfering with the legislative rights of either kingdom *.

But wherefore shall this treaty recur to the duties paid in May 1782? Why should it not be established upon the duties at present existing? Must the small protection given to the Irish breweries, so essential to agriculture, be discontinued?

* It is not easy to discover what new light could be thrown by commissioners on a subject, which has been so fully discussed by the ablest men in both kingdoms. The business must be at last considered and ratified, by the two Parliaments, which would give rise to the same debates, and probably end exactly where they began. In the appointment of commissioners is implied, that the whole arrangements are to be opened afresh. It may be said, without reflecting on any other people, "that the people of Great Britain are a generous people, and will never retract what they have fairly conceded, without the most urgent reason. But, were commissioners appointed to take up the commercial connection *anew*, the British people would certainly insist to have a specific equivalent for each particular grant of privilege in trade or protection to shipping both in peace and war. The people of Britain will never admit the people of Ireland to every advantage of their commerce, without a positive agreement, that the navigation laws of Ireland shall always keep pace with the navigation laws of Britain.

Must the trifling strip of flannel, in which a part of our infant cotton manufacture is swathed, be thrown away? Great Britain will not insist upon it unless she finds Ireland is inclined to relinquish it †.

In the Bill introduced by Mr. Orde last sessions, there are strong marks of hurry and inattention. In one section it is enacted, by an Irish Parliament, that Irish ships shall be hereafter British. If there was another section enacting, that Irish ships shall be likewise Spanish, then an Irish ship, by hoisting her Spanish colours, could burst the boom placed from the Straights of Magellan to the Cape of Good Hope, and by traversing the South-Sea make her voyage home round the globe freighted with East-India commodities, purchased with silver from the mines of Potosi. That Great Britain or Spain may make laws that Irish ships should be considered as British or Spanish there is no doubt, but it is a new mode of conveyancing for a donee to grant to himself. If in a similar situation the citizens of Dublin, in their corporate capacity, passed an act that all the freemen of Dublin were from thenceforward livery-men of London, it would be laughed at in London as an Irish blunder.

A similarity of constitution and the same language must cause a wish in the breast of every Briton and Irishman to rivet their affections as firm as possible. The interest of Ireland requires it. The prosperity of Great Britain in a great measure depends upon it. The British empire tottered because the foundation was too small for so great a superstructure, and it was preserved from ruin by the late critical peace. It

† The people of Britain begin to suspect, that the Irish, like the Americans, press for a commercial treaty, in order to gain some commercial advantage, without any equivalent, and without having any equivalent to give. The people of Britain begin to feel, that the Irish, in their pamphlets and orations, write and speak like superiors more than like equals.

is probable if it was still more lightened at top it would be the firmer. Such as it is, no alliance, no fœderal union with any other powers could be framed so beneficial to both as a fœderal union between Great Britain and Ireland. Providence placed them by the side of each other for their mutual support, and every subject of the two kingdoms must shudder at any idea of a separation, especially an Irishman, whose infant state calls for the assistance of such a friend*. There are Cromwells and Catilines in every country. Men of desperate fortunes wish for a change. But to suppose the great body of the nation wishes to dissolve her connection with Great Britain is astonishing; yet we find insinuations have been thrown out in the House of Commons by servants of the crown, of a wish of this kind being fostered somewhere. That administration must be weak indeed which can give credit to such reports, and still weaker to propagate them. If they wish to foment jealousies in the kingdom, and make this reign like that of Charles II. a reign of fictitious plots, they should first consider how it may affect the empire.

The affairs of Ireland have for some time engaged the attention of Europe; the Irish debates have been read every where with avidity, and those persons have little regard for

* All this is easily said; yet no man, woman, or child, in Great Britain need shudder at the idea of a final separation from Ireland. The connection of peaceable and industrious Ireland is a good to be desired; but idle and discontented Ireland forms an embarrassment, which may be relinquished without much lamentation. The distresses and distractions of Ireland, during the American war, were the weakness, not the strength of Great Britain. When a limb can by no possibility be retained, it is amputated. It was once said, that Great Britain could not exist without her continental colonies. They are now independent; yet Great Britain is still one of the greatest of nations. One of the greatest of nations she would continue to be, were Ireland completely separated to-morrow, whatever situation Ireland might be in. For, the resources of Britain flow all from fountains within her own circumference. One of the resources, which, amidst her future struggles she may easily use, is formally to renounce connections, of whatever kind, which shall be found too embarrassing, or too expensive to her. Dangers are already half conquered when you look them full in the face.

Great Britain who throw out insinuations that Ireland is loose in her attachment to her sister ; Great Britain may be involved in fresh difficulties by such insinuations. What foreign power will form alliances with a disjointed empire. The riots in Dublin were unjustifiable, but not of sufficient consequence to be introduced in a speech from the throne seemingly congratulating the kingdom on the restoration of peace. What can any foreigner say who reads a proclamation in the Dublin Gazette, offering a reward to apprehend persons for forcibly carrying away a young lady, describing the house and town in the county of Cork in which she is *still detained* ? He will naturally ask, Is Ireland in such a state of rebellious disorder that government cannot enforce a due execution of the laws, but is under a necessity to offer rewards for restoring this young person to her friends, and apprehending her ravishers ? Or has Ireland an administration of *non-effectives* ?

Supposing for an instant that Ireland was totally unconnected with Great Britain, and looking out for alliances. Of all the alliances she could make, that with France would be most prejudicial to her interest. Ireland is now attempting to encrease her manufactures, France will not receive into her ports the manufactures of any country. She receives our provisions, but it is the interest of Ireland to encrease her population by an increase of manufactures, and add to her wealth, by stocking her lands with men and decreasing her export of provisions. As interest is the grand main-spring of all alliances, every kingdom will look to that which is most beneficial. Ireland can gain great and solid advantages by a connection with Great Britain. By a connection with France, she has no market for her manufactures, and risks the loss of what she has already acquired. Thus circumstanced, Ireland should look with a jealous eye on the person who asserts that French money had found its way into the kingdom to promote a civil war, should call upon him to
make

make his assertion good, by pointing out the traitors, and if he did not prove the charge, should tell him he was not a proper *hereditary counsellor* for a nation thus traduced,

And Ireland should call upon her parliament to revise and amend the Irish statute (still in force) of the 10 C. I. c. 21. sess. 3. the preamble of which is “ Whereas it hath pleased
“ our late most gracious sovereign King James of blessed me-
“ mory, as also the King’s most excellent Majesty that now
“ is, out of their princely wisdoms, and of their mere grace
“ and favour, to confer upon several able, worthy and well-
“ deserving persons inhabiting or dwelling in England, and
“ elsewhere out of this kingdom, titles of honour, amongst
“ the nobility of this kingdom of Ireland, whereby they do
“ enjoy place and precedence according to those titles re-
“ spectively; so it cannot be denied but that in a just way
“ of retribution they ought to contribute to all public char-
“ ges and payments taxed by a parliament in this kingdom,
“ from whence the titles of their honours are derived, and
“ whereunto others of their rank here resident are liable.”
Then it enacts that all such absentees shall be liable to all public charges and taxes of that or any future parliament*.

This patriotic act amended may restore to Ireland some of her non-resident nobility. Others will be more cautious of aspiring to titles in a kingdom to which they are stran-

* The people of Great Britain are not the least interested in such a measure. By an absentee tax Ireland would only raise up enemies to herself, without restoring any of her non-resident nobility. Some of *the non-resident nobility* would be very properly punished for opposing late arrangements, which had for their chief end the real interests and tranquillity of both. With the example of the American refugees wandering before their eyes, it is marvellous that *the non-resident nobility* do not throw their whole weight into the scale of PEACE and UNION; when they recollect too, that a century has not yet elapsed since the estates of *the non-resident nobility* were forfeited by an Irish Parliament, *claiming separate rights*, till they were restored by the bravery and wealth of Great Britain.

gers,

gers, or against the interest of which they are prejudiced. It will prevent the danger of an inundation of English-Irish peers pouring into the kingdom, and overturning any measures agitated in the House of Lords for the benefit of Ireland. We may find that when one of our nobility takes up his pen on the relative situation of Great Britain and Ireland, if he is not actuated by a laudable partiality for this country, he will at least adopt this motto,

Tros Tyriusque mihi nullo discrimine agetur.

I have endeavoured to point out the relative situation of Great Britain and Ireland as to population, commerce and manufactures : to shew how deficient we are in population, in proportion to the extent of the two kingdoms, and to prove that the difference in their respective rates of interest must ever depress Ireland in any attempt at a competition with Great Britain. The justness of the calculations have been evinced by the state of the linen and carrying trade at different periods. The proportion of raw materials and other articles of commerce which have been imported circuitously through Great Britain with the additional expences of a second freight and other incidental charges, is a proof that although we can import these articles from the fountain-head, her wealth will make her the depot of colonial and foreign produce. I have adduced the authority of the experienced Sir Joshua Child, to shew the effects of interest of money on duties and customs, and it necessarily follows that the same duties in British and Irish ports on the manufactures of each other give an advantage of 4 per cent. to the British manufacturers. When these matters, with the proper construction of treaties, are taken into detail, Ireland may then, and not till then, establish a commercial system with Great Britain, of which reciprocity of benefits will be the basis.

F I N I S.

